Bow calls us to Order.

Workers' Dreadnought

FOR INTERNATIONAL COMMUNISM.

Founded and Edited by SYLVIA PANKHURST

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CRAINQUEBILLE.

A Proletarian Story.

By ANATOLE FRANCE.

(*Continued from our last issue.*)

V.

Crainquebille's Submission to the Laws of the Republic.

Crainquebille, taken back to prison, sat on his fixed stool, full of admiration and astonishment. He himself did not clearly understand that the judges were mistaken. The Bench had hidden its private weaknesses from him under the majesty of its procedure. He could not believe that he could be right, against the magistrates, whose reasons he had not understood. He could not imagine that there could be anything wrong hidden under such splendid ceremonials. He went neither to church nor to the Court; he had never in his life seen anything so fine as a Police Court trial. He knew very well that he had not said "*Mort aux vaches.*" That he should have been sentenced to a fortnight's imprisonment for saying it was, in his mind, an august mystery, one of those articles of faith to which believers adhere without understanding them; a revelation, mysterious, dazzling, worship-compelling and terrible.

This poor old man considered himself guilty of having mysteriously offended Officer 64, as the little boy who says his catchism considers himself guilty of the sin of Eve. The officer, by arresting him, had impressed upon him that he had shouted "*Mort aux vaches.*" Therefore he must have shouted "*Mort aux vaches*" in some mysterious way, unknown to himself. He was transported into a supernatural world. The sentence was to him a Gospel revelation.

Little as he could understand his sin, still less could he understand its punishment.

His condemnation seemed to him a solemn and elevated rite, something dazzling which one neither understands nor discusses, and for which one should neither praise oneself nor complain.

Had he now witnessed Magistrate Bourriche, with white wings and an aureole on his brow, descend through an opening in the ceiling, he would not have been surprised by this new manifestation of judicial glory. He would have said: "Hello, my affair continues."

The following day his lawyer came to see him.

— Ah, well, my good fellow; you are not so badly off, are you? Cheer up! Two weeks soon pass. There isn't much to complain of.

— I must say those gent'emen were very kind, very polite; not a rude word. I shouldn't have thought it. And the "bobby" had put white gloves on. Did you see?

— Taking everything into account, we did well to admit it.

— Perhaps!

— Crainquebille, I have some good news for you. A charitable person whom I have interested in your case, has given me fifty francs for you, to be used for paying your fine.

— When will you give me the fifty francs then?

— It will be paid in to the Court. Don't you worry about it.

— All right. I thank the person just the same.

And Crainquebille murmured:

— It's rather peculiar—what is happening to me.

— Don't exaggerate, Crainquebille. Your case is not a rare one; far from it.

— By the way, could you tell me where they have shoved my barrow?

VI.

Crainquebille tried by Public Opinion.

Crainquebille, out of prison, pushed his barrow up the Rue Montmartre, calling: "*Cabbages, turnips, carrots.*" He was neither proud nor ashamed of his adventure. His memory of it was not unhappy. It was linked in his mind with the theatre, travels, and dreams. But, above all, he was glad to be tramping through the mud on the city pavements; to see the sky over his head, all watery and as dirty as the gutter—the good old city sky. He stopped for a drink at all his old haunts. Then, free and joyous, spitting on his hands to lubricate his horny palms, he seized the handles and pushed off with his barrow, while before him the sparrows, early risers and poor like him, getting their livelihood in the gutter, flew off in a swarm at his familiar cry, "*Cabbages, turnips, carrots.*" An old housewife who came up, asked him, fingering his celery:

— What's been happening to you, Father Crainquebille? It's quite three weeks since we've seen you? Have you been ill? You look a bit pale.

— Don't you know, Mrs. Mailloche, I've been playing the gentleman.

Nothing in his life is changed, save that he goes more often to the public house, because he imagines it is a holiday, and that he has become acquainted

LENIN READING A SPEECH AT THE CONGRESS OF THE COMMINTERN, MOSCOW.

with charitable people. He goes home to his attic, a little gay. Stretched on his mattress, he drags over himself the sacks lent to him by the chestnut seller at the corner, and he muses: "There is nothing to complain of in prison; one has everything necessary there; but it is better at home."

His contentment was short-lived. He soon found that his customers gave him unfriendly looks.

— Beautiful celery, Mrs. Cointreau!

— I don't need anything.

— What, you don't need anything? You don't live on air now?

Mrs. Cointreau, without answering, proudly reentered the big bakery of which she was mistress.

The shopkeepers and the housekeepers, formerly assiduous around his verdant and flowery barrow, now turned from him. Coming to the shoemaker's at the sign of the Guardian Angel, which was the place where his judicial adventures began, he called:

— Mrs. Bayard, Mrs. Bayard, you owe me seven-pence halfpenny from the other day.

Mrs. Bayard, seated at her counter, did not condescend to turn her head.

The whole of the Rue Montmartre knew that Father Crainquebille had been to prison, and all the Rue Montmartre knew him no longer. The rumour of his conviction had reached as far as the side streets and even the busy corner of the crowded Rue Richer. There, towards noon, he saw Mrs. Laure, his good and faithful customer, bending over little Martin's barrow. She was examining a big cabbage. Her hair shone in the sun, like a mass of flowing golden threads.

Little Martin, not much to speak of, a funny guy, swore, with his hand on his heart, that there was no better stuff than his. Crainquebille's heart was broken when he saw that. He pushed his barrow up against little Martin's and said to Mrs. Laure, in a sorry and pleading voice:

— It is not fair to desert me.

Mrs. Laure herself recognised she was no duchess. But prisons and Black Marias were things that had never entered her world. One can be honest in all walks of life, cannot one? Everyone has his own self-respect and one does not like to do business with a person who has been to prison. Therefore she only answered Crainquebille with a haughty look. The old hawker, resenting the affront, cried out:

— Be off, you faggot!

Mrs. Laure, dropping her green cabbage, shouted:

— Get away, you old jail-bird! Folks that come out of prison and insult people!

In cold blood, Crainquebille would never have reproached Mrs. Laure for her position. He knew too well that one does not do as one wishes in this world; that one does not choose one's trade, and that there are good people in every walk of life. He was accustomed to ignore, sagely, what his customers did at home, and he did not despise anyone. But he was beside himself. Three times he called Mrs. Laure a bitch, a faggot, and a slut.

A circle of the curious formed around Mrs. Laure and Crainquebille, who exchanged still more high-sounding insults, and who would have exhausted the well of abuse had not a policeman, appearing suddenly, by his silence and his immobility rendered them all at once as silent and as stiff as he.

They separated; but this scene was the cause of Crainquebille's downfall in the opinion of the Faubourg Montmartre and the Rue Richer.

VII.

The Consequences.

The old man went away mumbling:

My word! She is a faggot. There is no one more of a faggot than that woman.

But at the bottom of his heart it was not with that he reproached her. He did not despise her for being what she was. On the contrary, he rather admired her for it, knowing her to be steady and economical. Hitherto they had talked cordially together. She used to tell him of her parents who lived in the country. And they vowed together to cultivate a little garden and raise chickens. She was a good customer. To see her buying cabbages from little Martin, a funny guy, a fellow of no importance, it had given him a blow in the stomach, and when he saw her making a contemptuous face at him, his blood was up. Damn!

The worst of it was that she was not the only one to treat him as a leper. No one wanted to know him any more. Like Mrs. Laure, Mrs. Cointreau, the baker, and Mrs. Bayard of the Guardian Angel, every one despised and repulsed him. All society, in fact.

What! Because one has spent a fortnight in quod, one is no longer good, even for selling leeks? Is that just? Is it commonsense to let an honest man die of hunger because he has had difficulties with the "coppers"? If he could not sell vegetables any more there was nothing for him but to die.

Like wine badly handled, he turned to bitterness. After having "had words" with Mrs. Laure, he now had them with all the world. For a mere nothing he gave the customers their characters, and without putting on the gloves, I assure you. If they fingered the goods a little too much, he called them stingy and cheeseparing. Likewise, in the tap-room, he was quarrelsome with his mates. His friend, the chestnut man, who could not recognise him any more, swore that "this blessed old Crainquebille is a regular hedgehog." He grew boorish, kept late hours and bad company and used strong language. This was because, finding Society imperfect, he had less facility in expressing his views on the shortcomings of the system, and on the necessity of reform, than a professor of the School of Economics; and also because in his mind the thoughts did not move with order and measure.

Misfortune rendered him unjust. He revenged himself on those who wished him no harm, and sometimes on those more feeble than himself. Once he gave a smack to Alphonse, the little son of the wine merchant, who had asked him if one is well off in quod. Crainquebille hit him, saying:

— You brat! It's your father who ought to be in quod instead of getting rich by selling poison.

Such words and actions did him no honour, for, as the chestnut man justly told him, one ought not to hit a child, or reproach him for his father whom he has not chosen.

He took to drink. The less money he earned the more brandy he drank. Hitherto economic and sober, he was himself astonished by the change.

I was never a drunkard, said he. Evidently one becomes less sensible as one grows older.

Sometimes he judged his misconduct and blamed severely:

— Old Crainquebille, you are only fit to empty a glass now.

Sometimes he deceived himself, pretending that he drank from necessity.

— I must take a glass now and then, to give me a bit of strength and freshen me up. It's certain that

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I've got something burning inwardly, and there's nothing but drink relieves me.

Often he missed the early morning market and nothing was left for him but damaged goods that were given him on credit. One day, feeling his legs feeble and his heart tired, he left his barrow in the mews and spent all the blessed day loafing around Mrs. Rose's tripe stall and in and out of all the bars of the market. That night, sitting on his hamper, he thought, and his conscience reproached him for his fall. He remembered his old strength and his old labours, his long marches and fortunate takings, his innumerable days of tranquility and plenty; his pacing on the pavements of the market, waiting through the night for the morning sales; the vegetables gathered in armfuls and arranged with art in the barrow; Mrs. Theodore's cup of black coffee swallowed, standing, all hot at a gulp; the handbarrow grasped solidly; his cry, vigorous as the cock's crow, striking the morning air; his course through crowded streets; his whole rough, innocent life of a human horse, that for half a century has carried to housewives, worn with watching and care, the fresh produce of kitchen gardens. He shook his head and sighed:

— No, I have no longer the courage I had. I am done for! The pitcher goes so often to the well, that in the end it is broken. Besides, since my affair at the Police Court I have no longer the same character. I am no longer the same man.

In short, he was demoralised. A man in that condition is like one who has fallen to the ground and cannot get up. He is trampled on by every passer-by.

VIII.

The Last Consequences.

Then came misery, black misery. The old hawker who used to take a bagful of half-crowns in the Moutmartre district, now had not a penny. It was winter. Evicted from his garret, he slept under the carts in the mews. It had been raining for three weeks; the gutters overflowed and the mews was flooded.

Crouching in his barrow above the stinking water, in the company of spiders, rats and starveling cats, he dreamt of prison. Having eaten nothing all day and having no longer the sacks of the chestnut man to cover him, he remembered the fortnight during which the Government had given him food and shelter. He envied the lot of the prisoners, who suffered neither cold nor hunger, and an idea came to him:

— As I know the dodge, why not make use of it?

He got up and went out into the street. It was scarcely more than eleven o'clock. A bitter, black night with a fine drizzle, colder and more penetrating than heavy rain. The rare pedestrians glided by, in the shelter of the walls.

Crainquebille came round by St. Eustace Church and turned into the Rue Montmartre. It was deserted. A policeman was stationed on the pavement in front of the church under a gas lamp, and around the flame one could see fine, tedious rain falling. The policeman received it on his hood; he looked very cold; but be it that he preferred the light to the shadow; be it that he was too tired to walk, he remained under the lamp and perhaps he made a companion of it. The trembling flame was his only company in the solitary night. His immobility appeared not altogether human; the reflection of his boots in the wet pavement that seemed a lake, prolonged his nether limbs and gave him from afar, the appearance of an amphibious monster, half risen from the water. From a nearer view, hooded and armed as he was, he seemed monastic and military. His big features which, in the shadow of the hood, appeared still larger, were peaceful and sad. His thick moustache was short and grey. He was an old sergeant, a man of forty years.

Crainquebille approached him meekly and said to him in a feeble, hesitating voice:

— *Mort aux vaches!*

Then he awaited the effect of these consecrated words. But nothing happened. The sergeant remained immobile and silent, his arms crossed under his short cape. His wide-open eyes shone in the darkness and regarded Crainquebille with sadness, vigilance and contempt.

Crainquebille was astonished; but retaining still the remnants of resolve, he faltered:

— *Mort aux vaches!* I have said it to you.

There was a long silence in which the fine, tedious rain fell and the icy darkness reigned. At last the sergeant spoke:

— That is not to be said. . . . Most certainly it is not to be said. At your age one ought to know better. Go your way.

— Why dont you arrest me? asked Crainquebille.

The sergeant shook his head under his wet hood:

— If it were necessary to take up all the chaps who say what ought not to be said, one would have one's work cut out. And what would be the use?

Crainquebille, crushed by this magnanimous disdain, remained for a long time mute and stupified in the gutter. Before going, he tried to explain himself:

— It was not against you that I said "*Mort aux vaches!*" It was more for an idea than for anything else I said it. It was for an idea.

The sergeant replied with austere gentleness:

— Whether it was for an idea or for anything else, it should not be said; because when a man does his duty and endures a lot of trouble, one ought not to insult him by futile words. I tell you again to go your way.

Crainquebille, with head bent and arms swinging, disappeared into the rain and the darkness.

[THE END.]

COMRADE ZINOVIEV.
Re-elected President of the Commintern.
(*As seen by the Cartoonist.*)

YOUR LEADERS—*Continued from page 6.*

The Communist Party of Great Britain desires affiliation to the Labour Party in order to draw it into the path of Communism.

Our position in the Communist Party is precisely the same. We desire to make it a genuine Communist Party.

We can only assist in achieving this valuable result by constant vigilant criticism and discussion.

We believe that the exercise of this necessary freedom of discussion and criticism is not incompatible with membership of the Communist Party. It would be highly unfortunate for the Party if it were made impossible.

We ask our comrades of the Bow branch, and any others who may agree with them, how they imagine the Communist Party could carry on propaganda in the Labour Party if the standard of Party discipline were applied there which it is attempting to raise for itself in Bow?

Had the Bow branch informed us that this muzzling resolution would be discussed, we should have attended to defend our position. We are prepared to allow the promoters of this resolution to express their views in these columns, and we urge that every branch of the Party which has elected representatives, should watch vigilantly the manner in which Communism is voiced by them.

The Poplar incident brings fresh evidence in support of our own view, that the Communist Party would be stronger acting as a turbulent attacking force outside the framework of the capitalist administration, and that it is weakened by sending its members in to lose themselves in the easy paths of compromise.

If you are going to take a holiday—as we hope you will—do not forget that the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT *cannot take one. The hard struggle, in face of many usual and unusual difficulties, permits neither the Editor nor the staff to rest. They would consider themselves holiday-making if they could see more of the light of knowledge shed amongst the people, and if the morning post would bring more donations, more subscriptions, more orders for the paper.*

Even when you are taking your well-deserved rest you can can assist propaganda. For instance:

- *In the places you visit, you can find a newsagent to stock the paper for the season.*
- *Individually you can find at least one subscriber for six months.*
- *There is sure to be a Post Office in your locality. Buy a shilling's worth of stamps (they are cheaper than P.O.'s) and post them to the* WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT. *Your name will appear amongst the donors, in very good company, we assure you.*
- *But if you can send £1, send £1, or more. Thanks!*

NEXT WEEK.

More Cartoons of the Commintern.

NEWS FROM SOVRUSSIA.

Famine and Harvest in Russia.

Russia is at the present moment hit by a misfortune that will not fail to inspire its enemies with pleasure. Several provinces of the Volga district are affected by the drought, the grain is burnt up and the harvest is lost. It is certain that the bourgeois party will not fail to exaggerate the extent of the misfortune, to declare the Soviet government and the teachings of Communism to be the cause and to prophesy disorders which will lead to the overthrow of Bolshevism. We are too much accustomed to this, on the part of the capitalist, to be surprised. The real state of affairs, the causes, and the prospects are as follows:—

Russia, the land of infant mortality and ignorance, is also the land of famines. That has its reason first in climatic peculiarities. Its gigantic continental is often swept by drying winds. Also the primitive methods of agriculture are to blame. The ground is worked only on the surface with primitive tools and thus retains the moisture in a very small measure. Rational irrigation in Russia is practically unknown, so that large districts of Russia are covered with pools of water and huge plains are left without irrigation. The working of the fields was also irrational. The three field system which is the most used leaves each season a third of the ground fallow. Finally, everyone who has visited Russia knows how many thousands and tens of thousands of hectares of black earth lie unworked owing to lack of animals and lack of will of the population. The former social and political system is to blame for this, and also nature. Then last of all the foolish policy of deforestration has contributed a great deal to this, causing, for example, the sinking of the level of the Volga.

According to the statements of the authorities the following is the line of the satisfactory crops: Rostow, Woronesh, Morshansk, Rjasan, Wjatka, Perm, Shadrinsk. Within the line Kursk, Moscow, Jurjev, Novgorod, Luga and Pskov the harvest is even good. Unfortunately this central region is the least rich in grains from which bread can be made. In Siberia the harvest is average or over average, in Taiga it is under average. In the Caucasus it is bad northeast from Stavropol and good in the district north of the Kuban and in Transcaucasia. In the northeast Ukraine it is average or over average, and on the right bank of the Dnieper it is fairly good. In other places it is bad. Only in the region of the Crimea is it good. The agricultural statistic state quite correctly that the statements of those who are directly interested in the matter are naturally pessimistic in order to obtain a reduction of the Produce Tax. They refer to winter grain upon which the rainfall in the second week of June could have no more influence whereas upon the spring grain one could perceive the beneficial effects. The same report remarks also that this rain, although slight, had a colossal influence in the south east in connection with a rise in temperature. This year's harvest will exceed that of last year by fifty million pood, thanks to the extension of the acreage, due to the measures taken by the Soviet government. Thanks also to the Soviet government a possible catastrophe has been avoided.

Although some provinces are hit the republic, as a whole, will not suffer any more than in the past years. There is thus no reason available why the Soviet government should be shaken by this catastrophe, whose effects have been reduced to a minimum by the measures of the Soviet government. The populations which have been affected by the bad harvest are far from thinking that any kind of disturbance will lighten their trouble.

They know very well that the bands of Antonov and Popov who have plundered the fields and hindered the seeding are not altogether guiltless of the misfortune in those districts, and they turn with all the greater confidence to the Soviet power, which alone can create practical assistance.

The problem consists in ensuring the existence of the affected localities and in preparing the next seeding. Only the Soviet government is in the position of solving these two problems for it appeals to the activity of the organised masses. The movement has scarcely begun, and the announcements of solidarity and readiness to help are piling up in response to the call of the Central Executive Committee, the special Commission of the Communist Party and of the trade unions. One can only be astonished at the touching echo which these calls find among the Ukrainian peasantry, and among the proletariat of Russia. The enthusiasm is immense, and the unity of the people with the authorities is complete. Moral help preceded the material aid. The whole of Soviet Russia constitutes one single relief unit which is in motion forward to overcome the crisis. The early period at which the harvest took place this year will enable the application of a portion of the Produce Tax from the Volga provinces, and in some localities a second seeding, which was recommended by the farmers. By these measures the Soviet government will become master of the catastrophe that has befallen Russia.

What is the extent of this catastrophe? It is certainly very great and our opponents will certainly not fail to make use of certain articles in the Russian press in order to exaggerate its importance. "Pravda" spoke in an article of twenty-five million affected by famine. This figure, whose correctness is not proved, will certainly be exploited. One should know however, that the aim of the Communist press is to direct the attention of the masses to the tasks of the moment. So far from weakening the situation the Communist press underlines the worst figures.

CHANGE YOUR LEADERS! By RED INTERNATIONAL

How Miners' may use their Union Rules to Expel Reactionary Leaders.

The rules of the M.F.G.B. provide that the President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and Executive of twelve members shall be elected each year at the annual conference.

Each of these officials must be nominated by a Financial Federation or District. Therefore, in considering the problem of changing them, it is necessary to turn one's attention, in the first place, to the Districts.

The Districts, however, take but a minor interest in the election of the M.F.G.B. Executive. Still smaller is their interest in the Trade Union Congress and Labour Party. Indeed, it is characteristic of the miners that they are peculiarly slow to look beyond their immediate surroundings. In building up the local organisation and in doing intensive educational work amongst the masses, this proved a strength, and the evidence of it is specially noticeable in South Wales, but for the great conflicts now developing, the parochial outlook is a serious handicap.

Since the rank and file have taken small interest in national affairs, even in the national affairs of the miners themselves, such questions as nomination of the M.F.G.B. Executive, delegates to its conferences, delegates to the Trade Union Congress, the Labour Party Conference, and the resolutions to be put forward on behalf of the miners at such Congresses, are entirely out of the hands of the lodges.

The Derbyshire Miners' Association.

The Derbyshire Miners' Association has a constitution which is much more democratic than that of many unions.

Its governing body is a council consisting of one delegate from each lodge.

For electing the Executive Committee of twelve members the organisation is divided into twelve districts, each one of which elects an executive member by the ballot vote of the lodges.

The President and Vice-President of the organisation are nominated by the lodges and elected by a ballot of the lodges every twelve months.

Permanent officials are elected by a ballot vote of the members of the organisation.

Ballot or Vote of Lodge Meetings.

The practice of electing by ballot vote entails very hard work by those who wish to pioneer new principles, and to eject old officials, for without having control of the machinery of the organisation, they have to influence those masses of apathetic people who do not attend the meetings of the organisation and are merely sleeping partners, paying their contributions only from habit and the force of example.

Changes of opinion within the organisation would be more speedily registered if the power of decision were given to the lodge meetings, because then only those who took some part in the work of the organisation would have a part in deciding. The active member tends usually to be the advanced member.

Those who are out for speedy progress should therefore advocate the substitution of decision by lodge meeting for decision by ballot vote. The recall of officials and members of the Executive is also a necessary step towards quicker movement.

Election of the Executive.

Rule 5 contains the following provision:—

> "For the purpose of the election of the Executive Committee, the county shall be divided into twelve Districts or Panels; there shall be one Executive Member for each Panel, who shall be elected by a ballot of all the Lodges."

The following amendment would meet this case:—After "Panels" delete down to "Lodges," and substitute—

"There shall be one Executive Member for each Panel, who shall be elected at a Conference of delegates instructed by the Lodges concerned."

Delegates to Council Meetings.

Each lodge, as provided by Rule 4, is entitled to send only one delegate to the Council Meetings, however large the lodge may be, but, as provided by Rule 8, voting at the Council Meetings may on occasion be decided by delegates voting in proportion to their lodge membership, *i.e.*, one vote for fifty financial members or part thereof. Lodges of less than fifty are unrepresented, as provided by Rule 7.

Every lodge should be allowed to send at least one delegate.

The last paragraph of Rule 7 should therefore be deleted.

Rule 4 should be amended to allow of lodges being represented in proportion to their lodge membership.

Election of Delegates.

Rule 7, paragraph 2, provides that the delegates shall be appointed at the Annual Lodge Meeting in December, or at the June Lodge Meeting for not less than six months.

The following clause should be substituted for paragraph 2:—

> "Lodge delegates must be re-elected at the Annual Lodge Meeting in December, and at the June Lodge Meeting. Delegates are, however, subject to recall at any time by a vote of the Lodge."

President and Vice-President.

Rule 10 provides that the President and Vice-President shall be nominated by the lodges and elected every twelve months by a ballot vote of the lodges. Delete "by a ballot vote of the lodges" and substitute—

> "By a conference of delegates instructed by the lodges. The President and Vice-President may be recalled by a conference of lodge delegates, which may be summoned to consider the recall if one-fourth of the branches demand it."

(To be continued.)

SPICE.

The best answer to Lenin's advocacy of Parliamentary action:

The Hansards!

* * * *

The Home Counties Liberal Federation had a "jolly festival," as the *Manchester Guardian* said, "in Lord Harcourt's park at Nuneham." "Mr. Asquith came over from his country place at Sutton Courtenay," "Sir John Simon came over from Fritwell Manor," And they talked about the slums!

* * * *

Henderson, addressing 40,000 Danish Socialists, expressed anxiety to extend the League of Nations by bringing in Germany, whilst MacDonald demanded a single International.

The poor foreigners must have wondered what International British "Socialists" want!

* * * *

Famine in Russia, hunger in England!

* * * *

Wages down; eggs up by another halfpenny each, and milk penny a quart!

* * * *

Philadelphia police are experimenting with the use of tear gas on "mobs!"

That means *you!*

* * * *

Mr. Nevinson has been sending second-hand information to the *Manchester Guardian* about Georgia. If the *Manchester Guardian* would send him to see for himself we are confident he would come back with quite an opposite story.

* * * *

"The change from Unionism to Labour was but a small one compared with what it would have been ten years ago."—Labour Party pamphlet: "Why a Tory Joined the Labour Party," by J. A. Lovat Fraser.

The Labour Party is quite safe now!

IN PRISON.

O pregnant womanhood that scarce can drag
Thy weary ripeness round the allotted track,
And soon would rest thee on unkindly bench,
Closely foregathering like affrighted sheep:
In these thy days of fruitfulness thou'rt robbed
Of those dear joys that should thy state enrich,
Making thy presence blossom like thy womb,
And with a sweet expectancy thy thoughts to leap.
A changeless sadness girdles thee about,
And with wan smiles and pleading arms outstretched,
Thou turn'st towards toddling babes, born 'twixt these walls,
Pledges to thee that thy regretful fruit
Will not be monstrous, though in prison grown.

E.S.P.

DELEGATES AT THE COMMINTERN

As seen by the Artist of the "FOLKETS DAGBLAD POLITIKEN" of Stockholm.

1.—Japanese Delegate. 2.—Lazzari (Italian Socialist). 3.—Terracini (Italian Communist). 4.—Nicolai (Petrograd). 5.—Krupokaya Ulianov (Lenin's Wife). 6. 7. & 8.—American Delegates. 9.—Clara Zetkin (Germany). 10.—Mme. Coriale (France). 11.—Rosa Bloch (Switzerland). 12.—Jeannette Olsen (Norway). 13.—Henriette Roland-Holst (Holland). 14.—Radek. 15.—Kobetsky (Secretary, Executive Committee). 16.—A Russian Peasant Delegate. 17. 18. 19. & 20.—Delegates at the Women's Congress. 21.—Eugene Varga (Supreme Economic Council).

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SOUTH WALES MINERS JOIN THIRD INTERNATIONAL.

The decision of the South Wales Miners' Federation to affiliate to the Third International by a vote of 120 to 63, is a triumph of which South Wales comrades may be justly proud.

FAMINE IN RUSSIA.

Famine in Russia! There was always a famine in some part of Russia under the Czardom. To make money for the landlords, the export of the food that would have saved the people, still continued undiminished during the famine. The same thing continually happens in India under British rule.

This is a year of exceptional drought. We feel it even upon this little island of ours. Consequently there is great suffering in certain districts of Russia to-day.

But to-day the Russian nation will devote all available resources to the saving of the people.

The official news from Russia, which we publish in another column, shows, moreover, that the famine situation is deliberately misrepresented and exaggerated by the enemies of Soviet Russia in the hope of discrediting Communism and the Workers' Republic.

Appeals are being made in this country that the British Government should assist Soviet Russia. It is argued that the Government should spend as much money in helping the famine victims as it did in assisting the counter-revolution. It would really be as logical to ask the lion to assist the lamb in our opinion. Let us beware of asking for the assistance of Capitalist Governments for Soviet Russia. Such help will only be given if the Capitalist Governments see therein an opportunity of meddling in Soviet Russia's affairs.

The counter-revolutionaries are waiting in ghoulish hate for an opportunity to pounce upon Soviet Russia, should the pressure of famine, which grows to gigantic proportions in their hopes, cause her Government to rock. Says the *Manchester Guardian* Paris correspondent:—

"There is an air of unreality about the French position in Silesia to-day. It is felt widely that the reasons for postponement of the Supreme Council meeting, which alone could settle the matter, rest upon rather thin grounds, and when imagination seeks the real motive for French insistence on reinforcements for Silesia and the shelving of a solution, it is forced to conjecture that the French are deliberately seeking an excuse for sending a formidable number of troops into Eastern Europe at the present time. The Socialists insist every day in their organs that Russia is doomed at. But the cool-headed add that, even if this is true, it by no means follows that France has decided to use such troops against the famine-stricken Soviet army. A sufficient cause is the obvious desire to be on the spot if the long-expected break-up of the Russian Republic is really at hand. It will be realised here that it is impossible for England to send the reinforcements repeatedly asked for by the French in such a conjunction of circumstances."

This view is echoed in innumerable quarters. Britain, Italy has 4,400 soldiers in Upper Silesia, and the French, British, and Italian High Commissioners have addressed a joint Note to the Conference of Ambassadors, drawing its attention to "the necessity of sending reinforcements to Upper Silesia."

The *Chicago Tribune* says France is rushing 10,000 troops with field artillery, machine-guns, tanks and aeroplanes into Upper Silesia.

Should there arise an opportunity, Capitalism would rush triumphantly upon Russia, and institute there the greatest White Terror ever known. But the opportunity will not come. Soviet Russia will not fall.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that our failure to become Communist holds back the progress of Russian Communism.

HUNTING DOWN COMMUNISTS.

The Home Secretary's refusal of amnesty for Communist speakers, and his statement that the Government intends to hunt down the Communists is really an incentive to us to persevere, and an evidence that our propaganda is making an impression.

It will be remembered that when the British official Labour Delegation went to Russia, its members assured Comrade Lenin that there is no White Terror in Britain.

What do they say now?

THE MANCHESTER E.P.A. CASE.

The Emergency Powers Act is the negation of all democratic law, of all for which our Radical forefathers fought. A further instance of this is provided by the failure of the appeal of George Peet, Tim Kime, and the National Labour Press, in the case of the Coal Lock-out leaflet. The Recorder of Salford, who tried the appeal, declared that the leaflet issued by the defendants did not come under the clauses which safeguard "peaceful persuasion" to strike, although there is not a word suggesting violence in the leaflet. The Recorder attempted to justify the conviction on the ground that the defendants had attempted "to defeat the Government of the country," and said he was "not sure whether in Common Law it was not a conspiracy to try to set up a body in this country comparable with the Red International."

The Recorder's political animus is clearly shown; but we must not expect to get impartial treatment for Communists in the Courts of Capitalism.

LABOUR LEADERS GREW REVOLUTIONARY.

Harry Twist, miners' agent, and three others charged with him at Wigan, for filling up a mine shaft to prevent the working of the outcrop during the coal strike, committed what on a small scale was a revolutionary act. They did it because they thought it was in "the interests of the miners' cause." That is to say, they took the law into their own hands in a moment of crisis. They have been committed for trial. The capitalist administration has no mercy for "Labour Leaders" in times of Labour surplus.

THE STRIKES IN THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT.

Strikes by Co-operative employees are as inevitable as strikes by employees of private firms, because the Co-operative workers are employed under conditions scarcely dissimilar from those of workers for ordinary capitalist firms.

Co-operation conforms to the framework of capitalist conditions: it is a makeshift for palliating to the consumer some of the grosser evils of Capitalism. It is Capitalism, though the numerous providers of the capital have each only a small holding of shares.

To cry out that such "internal strife" is "deplorable," shows a failure to understand the true position. Employees of Co-operative Societies have to pay the rent and the butcher, like other people, and though they may have a fellow feeling for the working-class Co-operative shareholders they can see that, after all, something much more drastic than co-operation is needed to emancipate themselves and the other workers.

BARRING THE BUILDING GUILD.

Mr. S. G. Hobson of the Building Guild says the Guild sent tenders to 200 local authorities and in 180 cases its tenders were £50 a house below the tenders of master builders; yet not one of the tenders was sanctioned by the Ministry of Health under Dr. Addison.

That is not surprising: a capitalists' Government is not likely to encourage building guilds.

THE CRY OF THE WORKLESS.

"Let me die: I am out of work," said John Burford, an unemployed labourer who had cut his throat.

He will be sent to prison for the offence.

You, who will not work for a change of system, are you prepared to burden your consciences with things like this?

THE SPECTRE OF SOCIALISM.

Cardinal Casquet, speaking for the Catholic Truth Society in Manchester, described Socialism as "a spectre walking through the land." The influence of all the Established Churches is on the side of Capitalism. Those who would work for the new social order must emancipate themselves from the Churches.

DEATH OF THE JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL.

The Joint Industrial Council is dead. Both the Trade Union, and Employers' representatives resigned at last, because the Government took no notice of its recommendations.

At the time of its birth we predicted its failure: it was a war-time creation for lulling the workers to sleep; a smart move by the Government; an empty vanity of the Trade Union officials.

SUPPORT YOUR OWN PRESS.

It is heart-breaking to have to read, almost every week, appeals in Communist organs, such as the *Workers' Dreadnought*, for financial support. It is, on the surface, a disgrace to our movement, Comrades. It is because so many of us are on the rocks, that the propaganda ship we man is ever perilously near to foundering. Sure, but there must be other reasons. True rebels never let their paper sink. There is no room for apathy amongst any of us who care. There is no room, either, in our movement for mere sympathisers. In one way or another we can all help the good work. We must!

The cost of printing has gone up two-and-a-half times more than pre-war rates; likewise, paper costs four times as much.

Publishing a Communist journal is not a profitable concern in the fattest of years. There's always a margin of loss; often great debts arise. These must be borne somehow or other; usually a few enthusiastic spirits give and give again—all of their vigour, time and money; when what is needed is, *that every reader should be a vigorous enthusiast*, recognising and supporting the paper as a *class-necessity*. This is what transpires in the case of the subsidisers of capitalist press concerns: the shareholders support their press wholeheartedly, because of the Dubb-ish slave supporters. A former proprietor of the *Nottingham Journal* died last month, leaving a newspaper fortune of half-a-million. Oh! yes, it is profitable to publish inane dope and anti-Communist "tripe." This year's profits of George Newnes, Ltd., amount to over £84,293 (Sh!—there's £2,000 transferred from this to an employee's sick and pension fund!); this firm has the running of the *Strand Magazine*, the bourgeois *Country Life* and the *Ladies' Field*, also that week-end twaddle for proletarians, *Tit-Bits* among other rags of a like nature. A shareholder of George Newnes, Ltd., is interested in *The Times*. The shareholders of capitalist papers are very versatile fellows, being likewise shareholders in industrial concerns, commercial schemes. One of the big shareholders in our "ultra-democratic" Sunday soporific—*Reynold's Newspaper*—Lord Glenconner, otherwise, at any rate, one time Lord High Commissioner of the Church of Scotland, a Liberal Peer, brother to "Margot," is also a shareholder in *The Times*, besides being Chairman of the Tharsis Sulphur and Copper Co., Ltd. See any connection?

And a word in reference to paper-production itself. Charlie Marsden and Sons, a paper manufacturing concern, made £110,272 last year. Another shebeen of the same ilk, Wiggins, Teape and Co., Ltd., made an average £157,573 *each* year in the past four years. C. Morgan and Co., Ltd. made about £90,000 last year. What more do you want?

And all we ask is that every *Dreadnought* reader shall firstly, make the paper better known in the workshop; secondly, help to stabilise it financially, and thirdly, help to make it more attractive. Cash and publicity first, comrade, and each shoulder to the wheel, no one shirking.

C. B. J-W.

DREADNOUGHT DEVELOPMENT FUND

Mrs. Beckett 4s., B. Worall (per Mrs. Cole) 1s., C. T. George 2s. 9d., Clapham C. P. £1. Total, £1 7s. 9d.

BADGES.

SOVIET ARMS, in gilt on red enamel, 1s. 3d. and 9d. each, 12s. and 6s. per dozen.—Apply, Manager, "Workers' Dreadnought," 152, Fleet Street, E.C. 4.

"WATCH YOUR LEADERS."

By SYLVIA E. PANKHURST.

Shall it be "Hush, Hush" or "Watch"? A Fighting Communist Party or a Party of Compromise and Whitewash? Bow Branch of the Communist Party calls us to Order. Does the Bow Branch discipline its Elected Representatives? Was our Criticism justified by the Principles of the Third International? Complaints by others have gone unanswered.

A fortnight ago we noticed with regret that the Poplar Board of Guardians was reducing Out-door Poor Law Relief by 10 per cent., and lowering also the wages of painters' labourers, bricklayers' labourers, bakers, sewing machinists and others. Moreover, it had refused relief to a man who had been obliged, through unemployment, to give up his home and take refuge in a common lodging house, on the plea that if he were relieved, all the inhabitants of the lodging house would apply for aid.

The Labour Party majority of 18 out of 24 seats, includes members of the Communist Party, one of whom belongs to the Party's Provisional Executive.

This cutting of Out-door Relief and wages was done during the coal strike, in which, as we were all agreed, the miners were fighting, not merely their own battle, but that of the entire working class, lined up against the employers' attempt to force down the working class standard of life. The Engineers and other bodies of workers were also resisting attempts to cut wages at the same moment.

All who regard themselves as advanced supporters of the workers' movement, even those who do not go so far as to call themselves Communists, were agreed as to the importance of the workers presenting a firm, united resistance. The Communist Party was demanding a general strike and denouncing the leaders of the Triple Alliance for not bringing their men out in what was recognised as an important strategic battle in a general attack by Capital upon Labour.

What is called Betrayal.

For the Labour members of local governing bodies to join the employers' attacking party was what is ordinarily described as betrayal. For members of the Communist Party to take such action cannot fail to be regarded as a more serious dereliction of duty than in the case of the ordinary Labour Member, whose professed principles are often admittedly of the vaguest.

Moreover, the criticism of the Communist Party representatives in this regard must rest on a higher plane. The Labour Party is avowedly a Reformist Party; its effort is to work towards social betterment within the capitalist system. The Communist Party is a party of revolution. It declares that the capitalist machinery of Parliament and local government cannot be used for reform, cannot be transformed, must be abolished. It declares that Communist Party members elected to Parliament and the local bodies must use their positions thereon purely for obstructive, destructive revolutionary propaganda, and must act in harmony with the struggle of the Communists and the discontented masses outside.

The action of the Communist Party members of the Poplar Board is in direct conflict with this declaration of the Third International.

We do not wish wantonly to fling about the word "betrayal." As far as possible, we prefer to regard the incident as evidence of a failure to grasp the realities of the situation; as a failure to comprehend the tactics of the Third International—the tactics of revolutionary Communism.

We called attention publicly through our columns to the state of affairs in Poplar, because only so could we reach the individual members of the Communist Party, and the individual Communists outside the Party, to all of whom the tactics of revolutionary Communism are of great importance. We are aware that Poplar is not alone in its failures; we know too well that the ignorance (we do not wish to call it wilful disregard) of Communist tactics displayed by the Communist Party members of the Poplar Board of Guardians is still to be found in the Communist Party in other districts than Poplar, and even, alas, in other countries also.

We knew that complaints of the conduct of the Poplar Labour Guardians had already been made by Socialists in the district, because Comrade Pamment, a Socialist of long standing, had written to the WORKERS' DREADNOUGHT on the subject. We knew, further, that Com-

LEO TROTSKY.

rade Pamment has been holding meetings in the district to arouse the poor of Poplar against the harsh treatment and neglect under which they are at present suffering, for some of which the Poplar Guardians must be held responsible.

We published Comrade Pamment's letter of protest, and also proceeded to investigate the doings of the Labour Guardians on our own account. Having done so, we considered it our duty to place what we had learnt before the movement as a whole, because we believe that only by criticism and discussion can a knowledge and understanding of Communist tactics be hammered out by the Communist Party and communicated to the masses.

A Vote of Censure from the Accused.

Now follows a vote of censure from those whose conduct we have arraigned for discussion. The Bow Branch of the Communist Party, a small group of persons, to which the Communist-Labour Guardians and their families belong, writes:—

To Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst,
400, Old Ford Road, E.

Dear Comrade,—I am instructed to notify you of the following Resolution which was adopted at last Wednesday's meeting of the Branch:—

"That this Branch strongly condemns the action of Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst in assuming the right to publish in the "Workers' Dreadnought" of July 2nd, certain allegations against two fellow members in respect of their activities on the Poplar Board of Guardians without first having consulted the Branch.

"Further, that, having special regard to the necessity of preserving party discipline, this Branch, exercising its right to control the public activities of its members in their relation to the Communist Party, demands that, in future, no member shall be responsible for, or party to, the publication of any information likely to cause injury to the Party or to prejudice the Communist reputation of any other member, without first gaining the consent of the Branch.

"Yours fraternally,
P. PARISH,
Secretary."

58, Tredegar Road,
Bow, E. 3.

Was our Criticism Justified?

In reply to this communication we must first ask the comrades of the Bow branch whether they regard our criticism of the Labour majority on the Board of Guardians as justified.

We believe they cannot fail to admit the criticism to be both just and temperate.

Is it Orthodox to Criticise the Labour Party?

Then we want to know from them, as from all other comrades, whether they regard it as permissible for a Communist paper to criticise the Labour Party?

Of course they do: the Third International enjoins upon us that we must unmercifully expose the shortcomings of the Labour leaders and the Labour Party. In obedience to this instruction, *The Communist*, the official organ of the Communist Party of Great Britain, criticises the Labour Party week by week, although it is still applying for affiliation to the Labour Party. Did not *The Communist* make "Watch your leaders" a popular catch cry during the great coal lock-out?

It is agreed then that we may, nay, that we must criticise the Labour Party and the Labour leaders.

Why?

Why do Communists criticise the Labour Party?

Why are we to criticise the Labour Party and the Labour leaders? Is it because the Communist Party has been refused affiliation to the Labour Party? No, that is not the reason. If its affiliation be accepted, the Communist Party has declared that it will enter the Labour Party to criticise it and its leaders publicly to the rank and file, so that the eyes of the rank and file may be opened, and they may thereby transform their Labour Party into a Communist Party and choose Communists for their officials.

We criticise the Labour Party; it is our duty to criticise the Labour Party, because we disagree with its policy; because we wish the masses to turn from that policy to one which we believe will lead them to their emancipation.

Are we to criticise Members of the Communist Party?

We are to criticise the Labour Party; but, says the Bow branch, we are not to criticise members of the Communist Party. What, then, are we to do when members of the Communist Party go into the Labour Party and become an indistinguishable part of it, displaying all its weaknesses and faults?

Are we to exempt from criticism the Labour Party on a particular body, because in that Labour Party are members of the Communist Party?

Or are we to criticise that Labour Party and ignore the fact that Communists are amongst the Labourists, sharing responsibility for the actions we condemn, and even initiating them, as in the matter of cutting down Relief in Poplar?

Should we ignore the existence of such Communists, be sure the workers would find them out!

The Bow branch resolution attempts to forbid "publication of any information likely to cause injury to the Party, or to prejudice the Communist reputation of any member of the Party."

The branch therefore admits that the actions of which we complain are injurious to the Party and prejudicial to Communist reputations.

Why are not the Elected Representatives controlled?

The resolution speaks of "exercising its right to control the public activities of its members." Why has it not done so in the case of these, its elected representatives? Why have the open-air indignation meetings and letters of protest from Comrade Pamment failed to arouse the branch to its duties in this respect?

The constitution of the Communist International precisely declares that Communist Party representatives on elective bodies are responsible to the Party.

Why has the Party left its representatives to do as they please, and only passed a vote of censure on those who, at long last, have called attention to the fact that these representatives are not moving in the path of Communist tactics?

What action is the branch now taking to construct, with its elected representatives, the policy they are to pursue on public bodies, and to see that the policy is applied?

The Bow branch is mistaken in imagining that it can safeguard the reputation of the Communist Party by a policy of "Hush! Hush!" This can only be done by seeing that the policy of the Communist Party is above reproach from the Communist standpoint. Only by making it so will the Party grow and flourish.

To stifle discussion, as the Bow branch is attempting to do, is to dig the grave of the Communist Party, to bury it in some out of the way corner of the Labour Party.

Continued on p. 2.

ORIGINAL DEFECTIVE.

SOUTH WALES NOTES.

Last week I did my best to show in "South Wales Notes" a little of the conditions as we find them here. I should now like to point out how I think it possible to improve the situation somewhat. We who are miners are now realising how inadequate is our present form of organisation. The very conditions of our life are now proving to us the urgent need for the "One Big Union." Meantime, to attain our end it is essential that we should commence our spring-cleaning in our own house. We are at present organised locally into a combine, the Tredegar Combine Lodge. That lodge is at present functioning something after the fashion of a machine which has been lubricated with a corrosive acid instead of the oil with which its wheels should be annointed in the best interests of smooth working. In other words, there is vastly more of creaking and groaning, than of efficiency. Let us now see how this state of affairs could be remedied. In the "Combine" we have at present four pits, or collieries united as one "lodge." In place of the thirty-five committee-men at present "representing" the workers; in these pits, how would it be if you had a maximum of four committee-men from each pit, thus making a total of sixteen, instead of the present crowd who simply get together and discuss rule and precedent (those of them that is who don't fall asleep instead). Sixteen *live* men could do all that's needed in committee, and what's more, you would be able to watch the activities of sixteen far more easily than you could hope to watch 35. Always remember that mandates should be given on important points by the rank and file, and having given a mandate watch your representatives to see that they carry out your instructions.

So much for the committee. Now consider for a moment the question of secretarial duties. At present you have one lodge secretary and three trustees to look after him.

Try, for a change, one lodge secretary (to look after correspondence, etc.) and one treasurer. This more simple method would tend also to greater efficiency and economy. As regards the payment of committee and officers we consider that the present paying system should be completely revised. All work for the Federation, which does not involve a loss of "working time," and subsequently a deficiency of wages, should be done voluntarily and free of charge. If this rule were applied we should perhaps find less of opportunism and more of altruism in our movement.

In the manner of dealing with our "Agents" also there is much room for improvement. If miners agents were paid on the same scale as the men whose interests they supposedly represent, we should perhaps find them taking a keener interest in the agreements which they become party to. There is a great deal in the idea that agreements should be signed only by people who have to work under the conditions in those agreements.

Finally, we have to admit that there are far too many "full time" jobs at present in vogue giving scope to the peacocks of the movement, who strut about so engrossed in the fascinating occupation of spreading their tail feathers and basking in the vanity of their glorious plumage that they have no time at their disposal to attend to the really vital issues involved at times like the present.

From the Pit's Mouth.

COLONEL HOROVITZ: "NOW TELL ME EVERYTHING WITHOUT FEAR."

This cartoon is taken from a printed collection of the drawings of the Hungarian artist Marcel Vértes, who, "with sacred pain and irony," to use the words of Joseph Halmi, drew the horrors of the fourteen months of White Terror in Hungary. Colonel Wedgwood probably remembers our artist's cartoon where Lieut.-Col. Tisnay, reeking with drink, says: "Sergeant, put down Col. Wedgwood's name on the list!

They are the people who are responsible for the present deplorable condition of chaos and humiliating defeat.

Wake up workers! and put your own house in order always with the ultimate objective of the One Big Union before your eyes and bend every effort to attaining that goal as soon as possible. This is the time for your fighting spirit to manifest itself, and, believe me, you have something before you which is well worth fighting for.

There are only two paths open to you to-day. One is progressive, the other retrogressive. Get into the fight, then; and win!

W. RISDON.
"TREDEGAR."
J. G. SIFORD.
JOHN RATIGAN.

As a Miner sees it.

Contribution received last week.

After fighting gamely for fourteen weeks, a fight probably never equalled in the whole history of the working-class movement, the miners were deliberately tricked back to work; one of the terms being, work without victimisation. When, however, they went to the pits to sign on, they found that for a large number of them there was neither work, nor a promise of future work available. Strange to say, this workless party comprised all the militant Trade Unionists, with the "compensation men," who having worked, some of them, a whole life-time in the pits until partially disabled, had been given special employment in the industry which had crippled them. Now they are turned adrift to starve, as a measure for reducing the cost of production. Thus do the bosses preserve their integrity, and the men who have been their victims are everywhere asking the same question: "What's to be done about it?"

Everywhere one hears amongst men who realise that they are being victimised, taking vows amongst themselves that they *will not* starve in the midst of plenty. What is that leading up to? Do you not see plainly the drift of it? By this action the bosses have made "hungry men" into "angry men," and we shall hear more of it 'ere long.

Where, now, is the E.P.A.? What about arresting the employers who are guilty of this breach of faith, for inciting the public to violence, and for causing disaffection amongst the civil population? Have they not done this? Of course they have. I will venture to say that the lesson of to-day has caused more disaffection amongst the civil population than a whole year of propaganda would have done, and as to inciting to violence, if those who doubt it had spoken with the men to whom I have spoken to-day, they would have no further doubt on the subject whatever.

We have consistently advocated revolution, and as a result, our members have been ignominously consigned to prison. Now, however, we see arising, a set of circumstances which tend towards, not an ordered and disciplined revolution, but mob-rioting, undirected and without any ultimate object. Violence, bloodshed and destruction without intelligent aims of reconstruction. In face of this state of affairs, then, who constitutes the greater menace to society, the coal owner, or the intelligent revolutionary Communist? The latter has read the signs of the times, and sees in these the obvious fact that a system of society which stands for starvation in the midst of plenty; hunger misery, and squalor for the producers, as against the most extravagant forms of luxury for the dominant class must be overthrown.

Which, I further ask, is the greater menace to society: the Communist who sees clearly what must be the ultimate outcome of the present state of society, or the muling, puling moderates, "sane and sensible," who think that by blinding themselves and others to the present conditions and their ultimate trend, they can avert the evil which they have not enough courage to face squarely. As well might one emulate the efforts of King Canute, to stay the natural laws of tide by word of mouth, as attempt to change the evolutionary development of a worn-out system by looking the other way.

Meet the facts squarely, and decide in advance what is to be done about it. When aimless mob-rioting commences, as surely it will commence, how shall we deal with that state of affairs, so that instead of mad riot, it shall develop into an orderly and disciplined revolt?

This is the problem which confronts us, and it is not a problem to be lightly pushed on one side. It behoves us to make the utmost use of our time, and work together for the great objective—the social revolution.

Since that is what we are working for, I think we may thank the bosses for the assistance they have given us by adopting their present line of tactics, for they have sown the seed of rebellion. It is for us now to keep the seed constantly watered. W.R.

RED YOUTH NOTES.

By T. Islwyn Nicholas.

The Conference of Youth.

Regarding the possibility of the Y.C.I. sending a delegate to our forthcoming Conference to establish unity, the Secretary writes me as follows:

"Our E.C. would like to send a representative to your Congress which will finally bring about unity. However, at present, the E.C. is in Moscow, and we do not think it possible to send that representative before their return, which will be about the end of August."

This means that the Conference must be held in the beginning of September. The Y.W.L. have been entrusted with the task of making all the necessary arrangements, as the Conference will be held in London. They will also be responsible for the calling of the Conference, the engaging of a room, and the exact day and time. The following model Agenda has been submitted to all the interested organisations, which will be debated upon. For the information of our young comrades, a few words of explanation are added to every heading.

PROPOSED AGENDA FOR UNITY CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST YOUTH OF BRITAIN.

1.—Political Situation.

(Here the position of the youth under the perspective of the world crisis must be discussed; its tasks outlined, and the best methods for overthrowing Capitalism; the conclusion is UNITY.)

2.—Programme and Constitution of the Y.C.I.
(*a*) Relationship of youth to the adult party.
(*b*) Economic struggle of the Youth.
(*c*) Educational tasks..

(The ground upon which the organisations seeking to realise the same ideal, could work together. The programme of the Y.C.I. is that which works for the complete overthrow of Capitalism. In the constitution may be found the fundamental principles upon which both organisations can carry on their work. Copies of the programme and constitution of the Y.C.I. may be had from our office for six penny stamps per copy.)

3.—Relationship to the Socialist Sunday Schools.

(Here we must discuss the best tactics of permeating the S.S.S. with the revolutionary spirit of the Communist Youth of the World. The S.S.S. being a strong movement, cannot and must not be overlooked. Every attempt must be made to use them as a weapon of the proletariat in the bitter struggle against Capitalism.)

4.—Organisational Tasks.
(*a*) Propaganda activities.
(*b*) Secretary and officials.
(*c*) The new name.
(*d*) Organs of the movement.

(Concerning this item, we must await the decisions of the Second Congress now sitting at Moscow. The organs of the amalgamated organisations, which must also be discussed, along with propaganda activities, new name, and the administration of the united movement.)

I understand that the question of inviting the S.S.S.M. to take part in the Conference is being discussed and considered by the E.C. of the Y.W.L. and the I.C.S.M.

Intellectual Youth.

The various organisations of Youth which should take part in our Conference should include the University Communist groups of Youth, which exist in most University towns. Honest revolutionists from the ranks of the young students must become members of the united proletarian organisation of Youth, as equals amongst equals; as comrades amongst comrades. A comrade writes as follows:—

"There are two Oxford Labour magazines now: the 'New Oxford,' the organ of the Labour Club, and the 'Free Oxford,' the Communist organ, which has many supporters."

INDIAN WORKERS' MANIFESTO.

Issued by the All India Trade Union Congress.

Workers of India!

The time has come for you to assert your rights as arbiters of your country's destiny. You cannot stand aloof from the stream of national life. You cannot refuse to face the events that are making history to-day for India. You are the mass of the population. Every movement on the political chessboard, every step in the financial or economical arrangements of your country affects you more than it affects any other class. . . .

Look at the slaves of the Assam Tea Plantations, now become desperate. Their real daily wages are less than three annas a day prescribed under Government Acts. They are often victims of brutal treatment, working under the lash for unlimited hours, while some of these plantations pay 20 to 40 per cent. dividends. They are death and stravation dividends, and it is you, your wives, your children who are the innocent unoffending victims. We call upon you to realise the meaning of this exploitation and offer by special levies from the members of each Union what help you can give to Mr. C. F. Andrews, who is fighting at Chandpur the battle of these semi-slaves. . . .

When your nation's leaders ask for SWARAJ you must not let them leave you out of the reckoning. Political freedom to you is of no worth without economic freedom. . . .

There is nothing in the nature of your Union membership to prevent you from joining the Indian National Congress. . . . Your masters will go out of their way, as Sir William Vincent has done, to threaten those of your leaders who happen to be Non-Co-operators for an alleged attempt to sow disaffection amongst the workers. You have nothing to fear. It is not a crime to create a repugnance to brutal treatment, to conditions of semi-slavery and to the horrible exploitation of women and children. . . .

D. CHAMAN LALL,
General Secretary.

PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT.

Palestine.

Much blood and treasure has been spent in "rescuing Palestine from the Turk." It now appears that the population of the much-desired Bethlehem is less than 15,000, and that between 1910 and 1920 as many as 214,500 persons emigrated from that place, whilst only 393 returned to it. In 1920—21, 185 emigrated, 65 returned. Obviously, then, Bethlehem has not been fought for on account of any great desire to live there! The official languages in Palestine are now English (why English?), Arabic and Hebrew. Of the Government servants 1,338 are Christians, 719 Moslems, 514 Jews.

Taxing the Sugar.

Sir Godfrey Collins (L.) moved an amendment to the Finance Bill to reduce the sugar tax of 2½d. in the £ to 1½d. in the £. Before the war it was ½d. in the £.

Sir R. Horne (C.U., Chancellor of the Exchequer) opposed the reduction, saying it would mean a loss of £15,000,000 in a year's taxation.

G. A. Spencer (Lab.) advised the Chancellor of the Exchequer to get the £15,000,000 by taxing the rich.

Waterson (Lab. Co-op.) said in 1914 the sugar tax was 1s. 10d. per cwt., now it is 25s. 8d. The motion was lost by 65 votes to 135.

Taxing the Tinder Box.

It transpired that tinder boxes are taxed 6d. each, mechanical lighters using petrol 1s. each, and those not using petrol 6d. In spite of this enormously high taxation, the industry lived during the war, but has since been crushed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer said the tax had been put on to safeguard the tax on matches, for if everyone had deserted matches for the tinder box the tax on matches would have ceased to yield revenue. As the tinder box tax had only realised £18 in the last six months, the Chancellor of the Exchequer now agreed to abandon it, but he said:—

"I would, however, venture to call attention to the possibility arising in which the matchmakers might have something to say if their trade were very seriously curtailed."

That means that if other contrivances become so popular with the public that they reduce the sale of matches, the matchmaking industry will bring pressure to bear on the Government to force the public to buy matches by making other means of securing a light prohibitively expensive. The Chancellor of the Exchequer has hinted the Government's willingness to accede to the matchmaking manufacturer's demand. This is to be done in the interests of an industry in which the workers are grossly sweated! Under capitalism the public does not get what it wants, but what the capitalist desires it shall want!

And yet there are some people who imagine that capitalism allows of personal freedom and initiative, and that Communism does not! Under Communism there could be no question of thus forcing the public to use what it did not prefer, in order to safeguard certain trade interests.

Mr. Riley pointed out that in permitting the public to use a little flint and tinder for lighting, the Government had "achieved a definite move in the direction of economy."

Art versus Trade.

Ormsby-Gore (C.U.) and Lord H. Cavendish-Bentinck (C.U.) moved to exempt from the Entertainments Duty exhibitions of painting, sculpture and etching, with the object of promoting the arts; thus placing such exhibitions on the privileged ground now occupied by the ordinary commercial exhibition. The Government refused to make this concession. Poor Art, she has not the power that is behind the great commercial interests; her banking account, when she has one, is but small; her votaries are for the most part poor struggling dreamers who live from hand to mouth! On a vote being taken, 88 members voted for Art, and 188 opposed her. Labour voted with Art; but Col. John Ward and the rich and cultured gentlemen of both capitalist parties, with few exceptions, voted against her.

Government defeated on Co-operators' Amendment.

There was a long struggle to safeguard the dividends of mutual trading and co-operative societies from the corporations tax, in so far as trading with the societies' own members is concerned. The amendment was moved by J. Kidd (a Coalition Unionist) and supported by Asquith, as well as by, of course, a number of Labour Members. Co-operative voters are numerous, and the Asquithians appreciate that fact! Kidd aptly explained that there are two kinds of mutual trading societies. That with well-to-do members who "take their economy in the shape of reduced prices for the goods they purchase," and that with poorer members "who compel themselves to economy," which they can receive in the way of a cash bonus or balance given to members. The Government was defeated by 137 votes to 135—two votes. After the defeat an adjournment was suggested, but business went on as usual. No crisis arose.

There is jubilation in the Co-operative Movement, of course; and the movement will gain a little strength through its victory, but the affair is not very important.

Reciprocity of Courtesy.

When Kenworthy (Lib.) was asking what assurances Japan had given to evacuate East Siberia, Sir J. D. Rees (C.U.) said the Japanese would ask when Britain would evacuate Gibraltar, Malta, India and South Africa. "Should there not be some reciprocity of courtesy in this behalf?"

Sir J. D. Rees is the frankest of imperialists.

Reparation Coal.

During the Coal Strike French coal and German reparation coal were brought in to this country to help in breaking the Coal Strike.

French coal	466,000
German reparation coal	155,000

Making the Germans Pay for the War.

The Government was going "to make the Germans pay for the war," it has only received £198,000 from Germany so far!

Fair Wages.

In Committee on the Safeguarding of Industries, Captain W. Benn (Lib.) moved that the Committee which is to report on the efficiency of protected industries shall also report whether they provide fair wages and conditions for the workers. This amendment was opposed by the Government, and rejected by 242 votes to 100.

Protection for the workers is at a discount to-day.

Barnes supports Protection.

George Barnes, the renegade Labour man from Glasgow, opposed an amendment moved by Liberal Members to exempt optical glasses from import duty.

Fighting Soviet Russia—War Munitions to Poland

Wedgwood (Lab.) said a French steamer with 38 cannons and 608 tons of munitions had arrived in Danzig on its way to Poland.

The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs had "no information."

Costly Hospitality.

Mr. T. Thomson asked the cost per head of entertaining the Anglo-American professors to the Government hospitality fund. The First Commissioner of Works would tell it privately to any Member, but not to the House.

An odd £28,000,000.

£28,000,000 is to be spent on building four ships for the Navy. Asked to wait till after the Washington Armament Conference, Lloyd George said this £20,000,000 (quite a bagatelle, you know) was merely to replace obsolete ships, and must not wait.

Equality of Blacks and Whites.

Wedgwood (Lab.) asked whether the British Government would make representations in the case of the Rev. Philip Irwin, a British subject who was tarred and feathered in Florida for preaching social equality between blacks and whites. The Government is confident that the United States will take all necessary steps.

Well, you know, it is not a question of Soviet Russia or one of the weaker nations, where British prestige has to be safeguarded! And, besides, you couldn't expect the Government to care what happens to a man who stands up for Niggers!

A Minimum Wage.

Mr. C. White (Lib.) asked for an autumn session to pass a Minimum Wage Bill.

Lloyd George said it is "important to avoid an autumn session."

Someone said he had promised a Minimum Wage Bill, but what are promises? He has made so many!

Has A. J. Balfour turned Communist?

Mr. Briant (Lib.) asked for a fund to reward medical discoveries contributing to the general health of the community and placed gratuitously at the service of the community, to pension persons incapacitated in the course of medical research, and to pension the dependents of those who die as a result of devotion to research.

The Lord President of the Council, Mr. Balfour (C.U.) said:—

"I doubt whether any system of pecuniary rewards would, in the long run, be beneficial to science or medicine. . . . Monetary rewards would lead to jealousy instead of co-operation among research workers, and might prove to be an incentive to work for results which are sensational rather than for the advancement of scientific knowledge."

Quite so; that is precisely our own standpoint. We desire an equal economic subsistence for all, and believe that good and great work is its own reward; but this is Communism!

But what about abolishing Cabinet Ministers' pensions, by the way?

Mr. Balfour having pensioned so many should be interested in that. Moreover, he is likely to be eligible for a pension presently.

Another Insult to Unemployed.

Durham miners have been refused unemployment benefit because they had not written evidence from employers that they had sought work!

What next!

Hayday (Lab.) reported that owing to the six days' waiting period a man who worked one day for 10s. lost 15s. unemployment benefit!

Dr. Macnamara replied: Such cases are unavoidable.

Jack Mills quotes the King.

The most amusing and, at the same time, the most painful feature of the housing debate was the ignominious attempt of Jack Mills, the Woolwich Arsenal shop steward, to quote an old speech of the King, which he described as "far and away the best pronouncement I ever heard" on the housing of the working classes. The Deputy Speaker intervened, protesting that "there is a rule of this House that His Majesty's name is not to be introduced for the purposes of debate."

Mills declared himself unaware of this: he thought for "such an expression of commendation" of the King he would not be pulled up, and begged to be allowed to read the speech; but the Deputy Speaker would not allow it. Even in slavish snobbery the rule must not be overridden. Alas! Jack Mills, an I.L.P.er and a member of the shop stewards' movement, is thought to be one of the most advanced of the Labour M.P.'s. The House of Commons has soon worn away whatever crust of sturdy class consciousness he ever possessed.

No More Houses.

Asquith seeing Dr. Addison's resignation as a grand opportunity to make political capital for his party came out as an ardent advocate of housing for the workers. Here are points from his attack on Lloyd George:

180,000 houses are unfit for habitation.

1,000,000 houses is the present Paymaster-General's estimate of the housing shortage; some authorities say 750,000 or 500,000.

500,000 houses were in 1919 promised by the Lloyd George Government to be erected under its housing Act in the space of three years.

100,000 of these houses were to be completed in the first twelve months.

300,000 houses was the reduced number promised in February, 1921.

200,000 houses is the reduced number promised now, July, 1921.

80,000 is the number of new houses required annually to meet the normal increase in the population.

480,000 is the number of houses which are therefore in arrears owing to six years of war.

£600,000,000 at £10,000,000 a year for 60 years was the Government's estimate for 500,000 houses; but the 200,000 houses are to cost that sum.

£100,000,000 was spent in 1919 in attacking Soviet Russia. [Asquith, however, approved the original intervention.]

£100,000,000 was spent in attacking Soviet Russia in 1920—21.

£37,000 has been allocated this session to be spent in Mesopotamia and Palestine.

Those who protested against such expenditure were described by Lloyd George as "epileptic screamers," but now the Government is too hard up for housing!

The Building Ring.

Sir A. Mond (C.L.): The Minister of Health, who has taken over Addison's work, protested that he and the Government were as anxious as anyone to house the workers, but that no more contracts for building must be accepted just now, because the builders are "holding up" the Government and the working classes, and "they have already dipped their hands quite deeply enough into the pocket of the taxpayer."

Lloyd George's Defeance.

Lloyd George began by insinuating that Addison, hitherto his faithful slave, was guilty of "extravagant muddling," and that he had only lost a month's salary by resigning, because he would have been discharged, anyway, at the end of the session. Then he fell back on the same defence as Sir A. Mond, the housing grants had to be stopped because "the building trade was master of the situation," and was forcing up prices. "In January, 1920, the price was up to £780, in May £880, July £910, in August it had gone up to £945."

But why did the Government allow itself to be held up by the building trade?

Because it is a business Government, a capitalist Government which gives its protection to private capitalist enterprise.

Dr. Addison's Failing.

Dr. Addison, though he has resigned, is no better in principle than the rest. It would be a big mistake to make a hero of him.

He complained that whilst the Government is paying £19,000,000 this year on the corn subsidy, £13,000,000 of this is for oats, and at least £11,500,000 will be oats not used for human food. Thus, "we have to find £11,500,000 for horse oats, and there will be no more houses for heroes."

The point is rather a superficial one, because all these matters are interrelated. Moreover, Dr. Addison was a member of the Cabinet, and must share responsibility for this.

State-owned Houses.

As to the extortionate methods of the builders, Addison said:—

"We were confronted with the alternative of State building, which I am sure nobody wanted. We had had experience of that during the war. We did not want to find ourselves the owners of many thousands of State-owned houses. We had had the control of buildings. At that time the purpose of the country was to get people to restore their own businesses and factories, and their own houses."

The Labour members interrupt rather frequently during the debates on trivial matters. But no *Labour voice was now raised to say: "Yes, we do want State building."*

The Labour Party, remember, is supposed to advocate State Socialism.

OUR BOOKSHELF.

A HISTORY OF TRADE COUNCILS, 1860—1875. (By Cicely Richards. With Introduction by G. D. H. Cole. Labour Research Department, 34, Eccleston Square, S.W. 1. 56 pages. 1s.)

This book covers an interesting and, we believe, an important phase of the working class movement of these islands. We are not aware of this subject having been examined before, and compliments are due to Cicely Richards for the thoroughness with which she accomplished the work.

As is the case with many of the recent labour publications, the author stops where really she should have begun. The year 1875 is a date somewhat remote: the majority of the industrial changes still affecting our lives took place after that date, and consequently the most interesting chapter in the "History of the Trades Councils" still remains to be written. The Author, who appears to be well-fitted for this kind of work, might undertake it, and produce a book reflecting the activity of the world of yesterday.

CORRESPONDENCE.

A. Willis writes: "A police sergeant and an officer from the record office of my regiment called on me and told me that if I continue sending the military authorities letters and postcards telling them what I think of them, they will put me in a corner I shall not get out of again. I have seen my case in the 'Dreadnought,' which I support every week when I can get twopence to buy it with."

A Japanese Comrade in Mexico writes on June 4th:

Dear Editor,—I am glad to see that you are out to struggle for the cause again. I just got hold of the "Workers' Dreadnought," June 4th. The Communist movement is everywhere growing and striking terror into the bourgeois government which in vain tries to suppress it by force. Communism is an idea, and, at the same time, the world-moving power and force. No physical force will stop it, every suppressive measure and arrest or imprisonment shows the growth and power felt by the capitalist government. We are, indeed, fighting a winning battle.

I came here at the end of April, since then I have been working for the Red Labor Union International and for the C.P. The latter is in a disorganised condition just now, owing to the arrests of leaders, but we are working hard with good prospects. Littlebit is here, although I have not yet met him. Mexican workers are more revolutionary than the American. So we shall have a better future here for us in the movement.

Just now I see the Japo-British Alliance is being discussed in London, I hope it will not be renewed. It is a heavy weight upon the Indian revolutionists and their movement. Non-renewal of the treaty of Alliance between England and Japan will weaken the positions of both countries in the Far East, but this means the strengthening of radical movements in the Far East, especially in India. I do not think that Great Britain is bold enough to do away with the treaty at this time, but I hope it will not be renewed all the same.

No doubt you are getting our little weekly; it is now 11 weeks since we started, yet it is getting more and more influence among the workers. And I wish you to send me yours.

By the way, Gale is in prison in the U.S.A., so many others were deported last June, including young Jesus Ramirez. Oppression on our movement comes more from U.S.A. than from the Mexican government; it is very hard for the foreigners here, but the work is carried on by Mexicans all the same.

YAOKI.

INTERNATIONAL DAY OF YOUTH.

Sunday, September 4th, is to be the International Day of Youth, organised by the Executive Committee of the Young Communist International. From August 24th to September 3rd will be a week of propaganda.

Arrangements for Aug. 24th to Sept. 3rd.

On Monday, meetings to be held in the factories and trade schools, during which the Young Communist International is to be debated and propaganda to be made for September 4th. On Tuesday the Press propaganda: papers, pamphlets, the *Young International*, etc., to be sold on the streets and in the factories and trade schools. Wednesday, posters to be put up and handbills distributed. Thursday, outdoor and indoor meetings of adult and young workers to be held, where the Comrades are to speak on: The Young Communist International, its Objects and its Purpose. On Friday, propaganda demonstrations to be held in the different quarters of the cities, where great posters and signs are to be carried, pointing out the object and the demands of the Young Communist International and the importance of September 4th. During the whole week collections are to be taken everywhere for the International Fund. These activities are to broaden out into an extraordinary Day of Collection on Saturday. During this week, all members are to be mobilised for intensive work.

Though the methods of propaganda and agitation will, of course, vary in the different countries, it is absolutely imperative that during this week all organisations conduct active work. The Party Press, as well as the Press of the Communist Youth, must be utilised during the weeks previous to the Propaganda Week and September 4th.

All Party organisations are requested to participate in this Day.

On the Day itself, a meeting is to be held, with revolutionary songs, recitations, and speeches, followed by a demonstration through the town. Red flags and banners inscribed with the slogans of the Young Communist International are to be carried. The Executive Committee has decided to publish propaganda posters for this Day, which will be mailed to the different organisations. These posters are to be set up in two colours, and comrades should apply for the required number of posters and propaganda "stickers" to be stuck to walls and fences.

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